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ABSTRACT

The first married woman to be issued a United States passport (1925) in her maiden name Doris E. Fleischman and her husband, Edward L. Bernays, maintained a partnership in one of the country's premier public relations firms until Fleischman's death in 1980. Yet although Bernays received tremendous popular, trade, and scholarly media attention, little notice was given to Fleischman, despite her high visibility at varying times in her life. Her retention of her maiden name following her marriage led to periodic newspaper stories. She was interviewed many times on subjects related to public relations and women's paid work, and she published several long articles in magazines such as "Ladies' Home Journal," "McCall's," and "American Mercury," as well as contributing to books. In addition, in 1928 she compiled and edited a book, "An Outline of Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Achievement," and in 1955 she published a semi-autobiographical book on women's roles, "A Wife Is Many Women," both of which sold well and were extensively publicized. Her media visibility extended through the 1970s, when she and her husband continued public relations consulting and advocated such causes as pay for housewives and accelerated advancement for women working in the media. Her 1980 "New York Times" obituary described her as "an enthusiastic feminist." (One hundred and forty-four footnotes are appended.) (MM)

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IN HER OWN NAME?:

PUBLIC RELATIONS PIONEER DORIS FLEISCHMAN BERNAYS

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The photograph, taken in August 1925, shows a well-dressed man and woman standing on the deck of an ocean liner. They look seriously into the camera while he holds something made of paper in both hands.[1] She is Doris E. Fleischman; her husband, Edward L. Bernays, is clasping her new U.S. passport--the first ever issued to a married woman in her maiden name.[2]

Doris Fleischman's fight for, as she put it, "the right to sign her own name under her own face"[3] on her passport was a popular newspaper story.[4] But three years earlier she had received even more media attention the first time she asserted her right to "sign her own name." On Saturday, September 16, 1922, she and Edward Bernays were married in New York's Municipal Building, after which they taxied to the Waldorf-Astoria for their honeymoon weekend. After the couple signed the register "Miss Doris E. Fleischman" and "Mr. Edward L. Bernays"--the first time the hotel had permitted this kind of registration for a married man and woman--more than 250 newspapers carried news stories or commentaries on the event.[5]

The papers did not note, though, that something far more important had happened when Fleischman and Bernays married in 1922: The two became equal partners in the firm of "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations." They remained partners for 68 years, until Fleischman's death in July 1980.[6] Their firm was one of the country's premier public relations operations from the 1920s through the 1950s, and Edward Bernays, now age 96, has frequently been called "the father of modern public relations." He and his work have received tremendous popular, trade and scholarly media attention; a bibliography published in 1978 lists more than 3,400 references to him.[7] But the fact that Bernays had an equal partner in his work has been, at best, barely acknowledged by most of those who have written about him, and the dynamics of that partnership have not been explored.

This lack of attention paid to Doris Fleischman is particularly surprising in light of her own high visibility at varying times in her life. Her retention of her maiden name following her marriage led to periodic newspaper stories,[8] she was interviewed many times on subjects related to public relations and women's paid work, and she published several long articles in magazines such as Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's and American Mercury, as well as contributing to books. In addition, in 1928 she compiled and edited a book, An Outline of Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Achievement, and in 1955 she published a semi-autobiographical book on women's roles, A Wife Is Many Women, both of which sold

well and were extensively publicized.[9] Her media visibility extended through the 1970s, when she and her husband continued public relations consulting and advocated such causes as pay for housewives and accelerated advancement for women working in the media.[10] Her 1980 New York Times obituary described her as "an enthusiastic feminist."[11]

Thus, although the published material on Fleischman does not begin to match that on her husband in either depth or quantity, it does cover a range of her interests and activities, including her pioneering work in both public relations and women's rights. This paper is a first attempt at describing and analyzing her history, and particularly her role as a public relations consultant in partnership with a much better-known man. It argues that this personal and professional partnership was in many ways typified by that 1925 photograph in which Bernays holds Fleischman's passport, and that her fight to retain her maiden name was ironic given the scant recognition she has received for her public relations work.

"THE BRIGHTEST WOMAN I'D EVER MET"

Another irony is that this "enthusiastic feminist" was born on July 18, 1892, into the most traditional of American families. Her father, Samuel E. Fleischman, was a prominent New York City lawyer whose acquaintances included Andrew Carnegie and William Howard Taft.[12] Edward Bernays called him "a humorless, stern man with an Old Testament prophet's viewpoints"[13] and " a highly conservative character."[14] Rigid, authoritarian and unemotional, Samuel Fleischman exerted strict control over his four children and his quiet, compliant wife, Harriet Rosenthal Fleischman.[15] In her own middle age, Doris Fleischman described how the example of her parents' marriage had affected her: "Independence was something I yearned for, but hopelessly. My Mother's attitude showed the futility of any struggle. She was completely docile, never argued with Pop, always followed his wishes."[16]

Despite his strict conservatism, Samuel Fleischman believed women should be educated and lead useful lives. He encouraged Doris to learn and, especially, to read, making sure she had a good education; she graduated from New York's Horace Mann School in 1909 and received a bachelor's degree from Barnard College in 1913. Still, she did not consider herself well-prepared for a career or knowledgeable about the world when she left Barnard. She was interested in psychology and also had studied music with the thought of becoming an opera singer, but instead she joined the New York Tribune as a women's page writer in

1914. Her friend Edward Bernays--who had read her high-school and college fiction--helped her make the contacts that led to the Tribune job, but she did not immediately accept the position when it was offered, explaining that she'd first have to ask her father whether he approved.[17]

Although she later claimed that she had never read a newspaper before joining the Tribune,[18] she quickly advanced, becoming assistant women's page editor and finally assistant Sunday editor. She wrote many stories concerned with women's rights and was the first woman to cover a prize fight--which she attended accompanied by her father, who feared she would be hurt.[19] She apparently left the paper in 1916, briefly doing freelance newspaper and magazine writing, then carrying out a study of New York philanthropy for the Baron de Hirsch fund and serving as a fundraiser for the New York Dispensary, a charity hospital.[20] An activity of which she was particularly proud during this period was marching--wearing a light-colored dress smudged with printer's ink--in the first Women's Peace Parade, held in New York in 1917.[21]

In the summer of 1919 she became the first employee of Edward Bernays, who had just opened an office on East 48th St. in New York. Since late 1913 Bernays had been working first as a press agent and then doing what he called "publicity direction" for such clients as Enrico Caruso, the Russian Ballet and George Creel's U.S. Committee on Public Information, but he had operated out of his clients' offices or his parents' home. Once he had his own office he hired Fleischman as a staff writer at $50 a week; she helped him hire a secretary and office boy, then another writer, Bernays' brother-in-law Murray C. Bernays, a lawyer who was paid $75 a week.[22] Later Edward Bernays wrote that hiring Fleischman--whom he said served in 1919 as both a writer and the "balance wheel of our operation"--was "the best move I ever made in my life."[23]

Both her skills and her personality seem to have impressed Bernays. She later described herself during these early years as having "a nose for news and a steady compulsion to write,"[24] and she showed herself to both an able writer and, when necessary, a fast, almost spontaneous one who did not have to carefully plan her work in advance. She had an exceptional vocabulary and was a fast typist, which added to the speed of her writing. As a perfectionist, she also was an excellent editor, doing extensive rewriting of her work when she had time.[25]

In addition, Fleischman was able to judge and understand other people quickly and accurately. Much more than Bernays, she could sense strengths and weaknesses of individuals she had met only briefly, and no doubt this was one reason she was put in charge of interviewing and hiring all job candidates for the firm. Although Bernays was very imaginative and could combine disparate ideas in highly creative ways, Fleischman had a more practical, organized mind. She was good at determining what would be required to carry out particular ideas as well as how people might react to different approaches.[26] Thus Bernays later recounted, "I used to say to her, 'it's great to have a George Gallup right in the house.'"[27]

Bernays also explained that one reason he hired Fleischman was that "she was the brightest woman I'd ever met."[28] He called her "brilliant" and explained that she had a sharp, logical mind that she used to quickly develop programs and analyze ideas. But he also said she was exceedingly modest and did not seem to realize how intelligent she was. He noted that she had a very minimal "ego drive" and apparently did not expect or need recognition for her work.[29] Her "restrained and diffident manner," he said, may have been due to her strict unbringing.[30]

When she was first hired by Bernays, most of Fleischman's time was spent writing and editing news releases about the firm's three major clients: the U.S. War Department, which was running a campaign to encourage the re-employment of ex-servicemen; the Lithuanian National Council, which was trying to obtain U.S. government recognition as an independent republic; and the U.S. Radium Corporation, which had hired the firm to promote increased use of radium. She often wrote from 15 to 20 stories a day, then went to newspaper offices and worked to get the stories placed.[31] Bernays says she was particularly good at "placing" because "usually she was smarter than the editor she talked to so she could modify the story if they wanted it modified."[32]

According to Fleischman, though, her most meaningful activities during this period--about which she later said, "No work I have ever done has had so deep and lasting an effect on me"[33]--involved yet another client. In early May 1920 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked the Bernays firm to handle the publicity for its annual convention, which was scheduled for only a few weeks later in Atlanta. This was the first NAACP convention held in the South, and good publicity, especially

from Southern newspapers, was considered vital to a peaceful conference and one that succeeded in drawing attention to the problems of Southern blacks.[34]

Bernays worked with Northern newspapers and news services on the coverage, but he sent Fleischman to Atlanta to make arrangements for coverage in the South and meet with elected officials who could help ensure a peaceful meeting. The necessity of working quickly no doubt was a factor in splitting the work between them this way, but, as Bernays later explained it, Fleischman's personal skills also were an important consideration. He felt that "her personality would intrigue the governor" and others whom she met, and that her ability to avoid antagonizing people while persuading them to cooperate with her would be particularly useful. He also seemed to think that these white, male Southerners would like her and be sympathetic to her work.[35]

As Bernays anticipated, Fleischman had considerable success, for, despite predictions that they would ignore it, the white Atlanta papers generally gave favorable coverage to the convention. Fleischman credited their even-handed treatment with helping to create a calm community reaction. But her several days in Atlanta had been more dangerous than she had realized at the time, as she learned years later when Walter White of the NAACP told her that four bodyguards had followed her whenever she left her hotel room. She had noticed neither them nor the white men at the hotel who threw pennies at her feet to indicate that they thought she was no better than a prostitute selling herself for pennies.[36]

In the early 1920s Fleischman also was responsible for another project that seemed to make less of an impression on her, but one which Bernays labeled perhaps "the single most important activity in advancing our cause."[37] At this time she began Contact, a four-page house organ that was published three or four times a year for more than a decade. Contact was a compilation of brief articles, editorials and summarized information from newspapers, magazines and trade publications, which were then accompanied by comments pointing out the power of public opinion and the importance of public relations. This material was presented in a straightforward manner within a conservatively designed format that was intended to give a strong impression of respectability and restraint. The publication, which was sent without charge to approximately 15,000 media people, heads of profit and nonprofit organizations and community leaders,

helped attract many new clients while improving the visibility and image of the new field of public relations.[38] In Bernays' words, "Contact established us."[39]

Fleischman not only developed the idea for Contact--a very new one at the time-- but designed it, collected the material for it, wrote all commentary and oversaw the production of each issue. Her reporting and editing background made her the logical person to do this work, but one other factor was equally important: She had more time for such activities than Bernays, since, unlike him, she did not work directly with the firm's clients.[40] Ironically, the editor of Contact had no formal client contact. Nor could she take credit for her work on the house organ, for her name appeared nowhere on it; instead, on the front page of most issues the only name under the bold title was "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations."

PARTNERS IN INDEPENDENCE

While their public relations work was expanding in the early 1920s, Bernays and Fleischman also became involved in a very different activity. In 1921, the couple joined the newly formed Lucy Stone League. This was the brainchild of Ruth Hale, a journalist who, when she married fellow journalist Heywood Broun in 1917, had retained her maiden name and fought ever since to be known by it. When it began in 1921 the league had some 50 members, primarily young New York professional women and a few of their husbands. Ruth Hale was president and another journalist, Jane Grant (married to Harold Ross, who later started the New Yorker), was secretary-treasurer. The group concentrated on working to persuade married women to use their maiden names--and the government to legalize this usage--but it also fought for women's independence in other areas.[41]

Bernays seems to have been more drawn to league membership than was Fleischman. He claimed that when he joined, he brought "a reluctant Doris with me,"[42] and also wrote that Fleischman "is a Lucy Stoner because her husband wants her to be one."[43] Elaborating, Fleischman later said of her league membership: "I had no emotional involvement in what I believed was a good principle."[44] Her feelings were reflected in her league participation, for Bernays played a more visible and active role in the organization's programs than did Fleischman.[45]

Similarly, Bernays was more adamant than Fleischman that she retain her last name when, a year after joining the Lucy Stone League, they were married (without a wedding ring, which they considered "a

symbol of wife ownership").[46] In November 1922 he asked his new wife to sign her maiden name to the Waldorf-Astoria hotel register; she, he asserted, "didn't care one way or the other."[47] She furthered this impression in 1949 when she wrote of her decision, "Looking backward, I am inclined to think that I entered too lightly this nominal obstacle race."[48]

Bernays, though, made it clear that the two different names were very important to him, and that both he and Fleischman benefited from being "treated as independent human beings" by others.[49] He wrote, "I had an inner fear that marriage . . . would take away some of my liberties as an individual if there were always a Mrs. added to my name,"[50] and he has particularly stressed the social advantages of the situation, believing that they both had more opportunities to interact with people of the opposite sex when their marital status wasn't known.[51] He also explained the importance of their decision in broader terms: "I think a woman's retaining her identity . . . is very important to her own development, and I think it's equally important to the man's own independence not to be treated in terms of her, but in terms of himself."[52]

This attempt at equality carried over into the business relationship between Bernays and Fleischman, for when they married they also signed a legal agreement making them 50-50 partners in the firm Bernays had started. According to Bernays, they did not discuss this in advance; it simply seemed the logical thing to do.[53] Asked why Fleischman was made an equal partner, rather than being allocated a smaller share of the business, Bernays provided a revealing answer: "I think if a man is in love with his wife . . . he won't give her just 25 percent."[54]

Indeed, the strength of the couple's affection and admiration for each other is one of the most striking aspects of their partnership. When they were married, Bernays' uncle, Sigmund Freud, wrote to his nephew, "I heard . . . that you have married your friend and helpmate,"[55] and his comment in many ways summarizes their personal relationship by the time of their marriage. The two had been acquaintances since 1911[56] and had worked side by side--learning still more about each other--since 1919. In 1922, both were mature adults; Bernays was 31 and Fleischman 30. By this time they knew they worked well together and enjoyed being with each other. They also thought very highly of each other.

However, writing more than 30 years later, Fleischman confessed to having been "psychologically and emotionally illiterate when I married,"[57] and said, "I knew less than the average girl of 15 knows today."[58] Like Bernays, she lived at home until the day she married, and her father continued to heavily influence her life. As late as 1922, for example, Bernays remembers Samuel Fleischman calling down to his daughter in the family parlor that it was 11 p.m. and her "young man" must leave. Similarly, her father continued to support her, supplying everything except spending money, until her marriage. As a result, she never had a reason to be concerned about money and blamed herself for not asking for a higher salary when she first went to work for Bernays.[59]

These factors help explain the pattern that the couple's "24-hour-a day partnership" was to take for the next six decades. For, although they both retained their names and "their identities," and while they legally were equal partners, Bernays seems to have dominated almost all aspects of their professional and personal lives. In the process, Fleischman and Bernays built a happy marriage and a spectacularly successful public relations business. The two were an excellent team; they both complemented and respected each other, and were able to do things together that neither person--probably no single person--could have done individually.

When they married in 1922, the firm's title had already changed from "Edward L. Bernays, Publicity Direction" to "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations." Bernays and Fleischman had coined the phrase "counsel on public relations" together in an effort to describe their new emphasis on advising clients on actions that would improve their relationships with their publics, and on interpreting both clients to their publics and publics to clients. As this advising role grew (and the firm could afford to hire several other employees to take care of much of the necessary writing), Fleischman did progressively less writing and her skills as a writer, editor and placer of stories became less important to the business.[60] Her more valuable abilities, according to her husband, involved "originating and developing programs for action."[61]

For the next four decades, the firm performed this kind of advising for hundreds of well-known clients,[62] earning large profits and obtaining high visibility. Bernays asserts that he and Fleischman were equally responsible for their company's success, for they suggested equivalent numbers of effective public relations plans and discussed all major projects with each other. Because they worked and lived together, they were able to constantly critique each other's ideas, suggest improvements and test possibilities out on

each other.[63] In Bernays' words, "We would discuss things like two engineers or two physicians, both of whom regarded each others' minds as being very good."[64]

However, in one area of their work Bernays and Fleischman were not equally active, for he was responsible for all of the client contacts. There is some question over whether she had these contacts before she was married,[65] but it is clear that she had no such formal contacts afterwards. In a written description of this situation, Bernays nicely explained the reasons for it as well as how they related to other elements of their partnership:

> People found it difficult to accept the idea that Doris was both my wife and my professional partner. In 1922 a woman entering any profession other than nursing, teaching or social work was a novelty. And treating her as an equal in a profession was a source of even more wonderment. Doris was highly responsive to these reactions. She recognized immediately that her ideas might be treated as "a woman's" rather than judged on their merits, so she decided early to withdraw from personal relations with clients. I conferred with her after the clients had left. All in all, I think Doris was right to avoid the day-to-day ups and downs of interpersonal relationships with clients.[66]

According to Bernays, then, her ideas would have been discounted if clients knew their source, and as a result they would have been ineffective. The end result was that he "might discuss General Motors with her . . . but not her with General Motors."[67]

Fleischman explained her reasons for avoiding contact with clients somewhat differently:

> Gradually, however, I became one of the many women who seemed to be competing with men. Barriers had to be crossed. Many men resented having women tell them what to do in their business. They resented having men tell them, too, but advice from a woman was somewhat demeaning. I learned to withdraw from situations where the gender of the public relations counsel was a factor of where suggestions had to be disassociated from gender. If ideas were considered first in terms of my sex, they might never get around to being judged on their merits.[68]

She added: "But have I been a coward to withdraw from such active company? Perhaps I have."[69] To her, apparently, this was not the matter-of-fact decision it was to her husband, and it was based on a concern with threatening male clients as much as it was with a fear that her ideas would not be valued. Additionally, she admitted shortly before her death that although it had never occurred to her to do anything but leave client contact to her husband, "it may have bothered me subconsciously."[70]

DISPARITIES IN RECOGNITION AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Certainly one result of her lack of formal client interaction--the most publicly visible aspect of public relations consulting--is that her accomplishments tended not to be recognized. Bernays believes that most clients weren't aware of her equal partnership in the firm and certainly didn't know that they were as often acting on her ideas as on his own.[71] However, lack of client contact alone does not explain why her role was so seldom fully acknowledged. Rather, a joint decision seems to have been made that Bernays would command the foreground and Fleischman would stay in the background in most matters.

Thus, in the considerable publicity resulting from the firm's activities, Bernays alone usually was credited with the work being described. Similarly, throughout his career he has given many hundreds of speeches and interviews, while she seldom delivered speeches and was interviewed comparatively few times.[72] Fleischman's name was listed on occasional published work produced by the firm,[73] but even then the usual written format acknowledging the partnership was a two-line identification, the first reading, "Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations," and the second, in smaller type, announcing, "A Partnership of Edward L. Bernays and Doris E. Fleischman."[74]

Bernays reported that he could never remember Fleischman asking that her name be included on work, and that each time he asked her if she'd like to be listed on the firm's letterhead or recognized in some other way she said it didn't matter. He described his wife as an unassuming person who cared little about public recognition and usually sought visibility only when he pressured her to do so.[75] Yet he also admitted that her partnership was downplayed deliberately in order to "make the name 'Bernays' stand for advice on public relations."[76] And he acknowledged that his own reputation might have suffered if Fleischman's involvement had been common knowledge, since "If a woman partner had been publicized who wasn't already well-known, it could deprecate the man because it would have been strange and unusual."[77]

But Fleischman did receive much public attention for activities unrelated to her public relations work in the years immediately following her marriage. In 1923, she made her first trip to Europe, where she planned to meet with some of the firm's government and business contacts (although these were not clients) and also get to know Bernays' uncle, Sigmund Freud. When she first applied for a passport in her maiden name, the U.S. State Department refused to issue it to her. Finally a compromise was reached: The

passport was issued in her married name, to which was added, "professionally known as Doris E. Fleischman."[78]

Two years later, when she and Bernays were to sail for Europe to attend the Paris Exposition together, she again applied for an accurate passport, but this time she first wrote to the U.S. secretary of state, explaining "Since it is apparent that the purpose of a passport is to establish identity, I assume you will not wish me to travel under a false name." She further argued, "There is no law compelling a woman to use any but her own name, and I have never done so."[79] The passport was granted--the first to a married woman in her maiden name--and, as did the beginning of her efforts in 1923, it received considerable newspaper coverage.[80]

Her use of her maiden name led to news coverage again in 1928 and 1930 when she gave birth to her two daughters, Doris and Anne. After Doris was born in April 1928 to "Miss Doris E. Fleischman" at a fashionable New York maternity hospital, the embarrassed director assumed she would have to write "illegitimate" on the birth certificate, while the New York City Department of Health at first refused to accept Fleischman's last name on the document.[81] Following Anne's birth in September 1930, an untrue story circulated that their second daughter would take her mother's last name, with the decision explained in part by the fact that the new child was Freud's grand-niece, so could be expected to be treated unconventionally.[82]

The couple's division of responsibility for their daughters, though, was solidly conventional for the 30s and 40s. Bernays spent little time with them and assumed his wife would see to their needs. Fleischman does not seem to have questioned this situation, although she was somewhat insecure about her parenting abilities and consulted shelves of books by experts on the subject. Fortunately, during this period the couple had numerous servants--including a nurse for each daughter, a cook and a chauffeur--who took over many of the day-to-day chores associated with raising two children in a large city.[83]

Still, these responsibilities clearly were a burden on Fleischman. During her first few years as a mother, she stayed behind with her children after Bernays left for work so that she could order their day, then returned at noon to have lunch with them, and came home early to have supper with them and put them to bed. In what little extra time she had at home, she also had to oversee the large household staff--Bernays

claims he never gave a single order to a servant--plan menus, order food and other supplies, and do many additional jobs. She took her home responsibilities seriously, was extraordinarily well-organized in them, cared very much about her household running well. Yet her work in the office appears to have been unaffected.[84]

In unpublished writing, Fleischman described the kind of juggling this required:

> When my children were young, a day passed somewhat in this fashion. Played with the babies from six to eight. Watched them eat breakfast, helped feed them. Talked to the cook, ordered meals. To the office by 9:30. Wrote a letter for a Senator. Wrote a speech for a client. Interviewed laundresses. Called up references. Taxied home to give babies lunch. Back to office. Work on Contact. Telephoned home, one hand on galley proofs to keep them from sliding to the floor, to ask, "How long do you cook cauliflower?" Prepare digest of economics survey. Home in taxi. . . . send nurse home, and stay with babies until dark. Ran down to pantry to look over service equipment for dinner party of 22. Rushed up to dress. First guest arrived at eight o'clock. Last guest left at 3:00 a.m.[85]

Fleischman also was responsible for all of the couple's at-home entertaining, which they did often and well. And this seems to be one area in which domestic duties helped her professionally for, according to Bernays, when clients got to know her personally at her home they often were impressed with her intelligence and developed respect for her public relations work.[86]

Fleischman apparently was uncomplaining about her extensive extra responsibilities for her family and home, and also was concerned that her husband not know all that was required of her. She once explained that she was guided in this by "the basic philosophies instilled into women": "A woman must please her man. A woman must make the house run smoothly. A woman must keep housekeeping difficulties from her husband. A woman must smile and smile. A woman must keep pain ideas from her husband."[87] Similarly, she wrote, "It has been easy for me, in a way, to keep ideas of difficulty and trouble from my husband, because I like him."[88]

She seems to have succeeded in her efforts, for even today with the benefit of hindsight, Bernays maintains that Fleischman was able to handle her home and professional work with little trouble and admirable efficiency.[89] In a similar vein, he commented particularly revealingly on how the birth of their first daughter affected the couple's life: "Adjustment to the baby, when she came, was easy. I suppose it helped that the burden on Doris wasn't so great that it took her away from me."[90]

Fleischman's efforts to protect her husband from family concerns are not surprising in light of his dominant role in their personal and professional relationships. She very frankly described this disparity:

> Eddie's word is final and he casts the deciding vote in our partnership. I have elected him Chairman of the Board and Executive President in our personal life, where he decides where we shall live and when we shall diet, and in our public relations office where he was the boss even before we were married.[91]

Although she said, "I disapprove strongly of my profound feelings that men should rule," she felt she had no choice: "My father and brother, whom I obeyed instantly, set the pattern of my attitude toward men, an attitude slightly tinged with awe. I accept suggestions more readily from men than from women because some man has always bossed me."[92] Bernays agrees that he consistenly was the boss in both their marriage and their business.[93]

Thus, the partnership of which both were so proud was an unequal one in terms of power and responsibility, and both Fleischman and Bernays seemed to think theirs was a logical and practical arrangement. Indeed, Fleischman appeared grateful for the chance to work for her husband at home and in the office, explaining, "As far as I am concerned, double partnership has made it possible for me to do the jobs I am expected to do as a woman without conflicting with his [Bernays'] idea of my professional duties."[94] This gratitude carried over to the financial matters, for in the mid-1950s she wrote,

> I knew how much Eddie earned, because I was his partner in public relations, and ours was a joint bank account. But I didn't feel that I owned half the money, or any of it. The money, I felt, and still feel, belongs to him, and it is generous of him to let me use it for myself.[95]

Note that she did not refer to the money they both earned; it was "how much Eddie earned."

PUBLISHED WORK

There was, however, one area in which Fleischman could identify her earnings as her own and take full credit for her work. She published several major articles and book chapters on public relations or women's concerns that were not written in collaboration with her husband and no doubt added to her public visibility.[96] The first of these works, though, was published as a result of her husband's efforts, for she was one of 38 contributors (only two of whom were women) to An Outline of Careers: A Practical Guide to Achievement by Thirty-Eight Eminent Americans, the 1927 book he edited. Fleischman wrote the final

chapter, titled "Concerning Women," which addressed women's opportunities and problems in the world of paid work.[97]

In the chapter, she called women a "handicapped occupational group"[98] that often had problems obtaining jobs, pay and promotions equal to men. But she maintained that women themselves were in part to blame for their problems, since they too often lacked ambition and believed themselves not to have the abilities required for responsible jobs. One of her recommendations for how women should deal with the prejudice against them is particularly interesting in light of her own role in the business in which she was a partner:

> A woman must, first of all, and continuously thereafter, sell the idea that she is important in spite of her sex. Her tact as well as her force must be constantly called upon to overcome the inertia of her associates, as well as the prejudices of outside forces with which she must contend on behalf of her firm. "She is a fine woman, but my clients won't take advice from a woman" is an idea that absorbs a great deal of her effectiveness. In other words, her force must be doubled on any given problem.[99]

The next year, Fleischman edited a book that, like her husband's 1927 book, was intended to help popularize the career of public relations and establish it as being equal to other professions.[100] An Outline of Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Achievement carried chapters by successful women describing 45 different careers, with Fleischman writing on public relations. In her introduction to the book, Fleischman explained that "To-day there are few pursuits which women do not follow with more or less success. The opportunities are almost unlimited,"[101] and her chapter on public relations was equally optimistic.

After beginning by announcing that "no traditions have grown against women's participation" in this field,"[102] she discussed the steps in public relations counseling, the qualifications required for a public relations career and the many rewards of the work. Although admitting that women in public relations might have to face some male prejudice, her recommendations for dealing with it echoed those of her 1927 chapter: "This is usually combatted by convincing men through intelligent handling of problems, and not by slaying the dragon of antifeminism."[103]

She wrote on public relations careers for women two additional times, in 1931 and 1941 articles published in Independent Woman magazine. In 1931, she announced that "counsel on public relations is

one of the most promising of professions for young women today," and that "one finds women working side by side with men in forming the traditions and rules that will govern the profession of the future."[104] As she had done earlier, she described the work carried out by public relations counsels, the best job preparation, and the financial and psychological rewards of the work.

Ten years later, she noted the rapid growth of both the field of public relations and the number of women entering the field, cited some well-known public relations women, updated her points on qualifications required and rewards attainable in this "enthralling occupation," and again advised that prejudiced men should be persuaded of women's worth "by intelligent handling of problems" rather than "by slaying the dragon of antifeminism."[105]

A 1930 two-part Ladies' Home Journal series titled "Women in Business" dealt with many issues relevant to women working for pay. The first article offered advice to women on emotionally and practically preparing for careers--and not simply for jobs that would leave them "without wealth, honors or a sense of satisfaction to compensate for their years of toil."[106] She blamed the fact that most women were poorly paid and held jobs with little authority on women's lack of ambition, planning and understanding of the working world. She also stated that "women in business ought to desire money," and warned that "women have too little combativeness in their work. If they want to get on, they must fight for their opinions and for their rights."[107] At the same time, she elaborated on an earlier theme:

> If they [women] are to succeed, they must work a little bit better than the men around them in order to secure the same recognition that the men around them get. They must also convince people that they are good in spite of being a woman, which makes almost a triple obligation of effectiveness.[108]

In the second article in this series, Fleischman addressed specific careers for women. In addition to describing qualifications, salaries and work done in each career, she paid considerable attention to the discrimination women might expect. But she told readers that excellent opportunities and minimal discrimination were to be found in the public relations field, and that "women may demand as high salaries and fees for their services as men."[109]

The next year she published a quite different piece on women in a book, America as Americans See It. Her chapter, titled "Women: Types and Movements,"[110] presented an overview of American women. It

said much about poor and working-class women, rural women and immigrants, pointing out that it was only "a small fringe of women who make up America's leisure class and whose social activities are sprinkled like sugar on the solid news events of the day."[111] She also noted that "although women have achieved political equality, they are far from having achieved industrial equality."[112]

A 1946 McCall's article expressed similar sympathy for poor working women, but in a way that indicated a change in Fleischman's concerns. The article, "You Can't Get Help . . . ," addressed the servant shortage of the day, which Fleischman said, "threatens to alter the habits of 28 percent of our homes."[113] She analyzed the many reasons that fewer and fewer people were willing to become servants--including poor working conditions, lack of status and economic security, and low wages--then briefly laid out a plan for making this work more appealing. Among her recommendations were a 40-hour work week, increased pay and written contracts. In addition, she suggested, "Perhaps the problem has been mishandled by amateur women managers for too long. Perhaps we need the supervision of men, who have made a little progress in labor-management relations."[114]

This article in a small way foreshadowed Fleischman's major written work, a book published in 1955 called A Wife Is Many Women. The primary theme of the book was that wives not only must do scores of different jobs--for example, they must be doctors, dieticians, psychologists, economists and hostesses--but that most women are "amateurs" in all of these responsibilities. In an almost stream-of-consciousness manner, she used anecdotes from the lives of women she knew, from her own married life and, especially, from her childhood to argue that women must receive improved training for such jobs, homes must be better designed so that housework can be done more efficiently, and some business practices must be changed to more effectively meet married women's needs. Although she said very little about the specifics of her work as a counsel on public relations (and nothing about her struggle to retain her maiden name), she effusively recommended that wives work alongside their husbands. One reviewer called Fleischman "an exemplar of deference and even reverence for her husband. In fact, 'Eddie' emerges as quite the hero of the piece."[115]

In the book Fleischman frequently called herself an "average woman" whose concerns were those of the average wife and mother. Yet she also made numerous references to the problems of dealing with

servants, admitted to knowing little about housework and having seen her mother cook only once, and described the large houses in which she had lived, including one with 11 servants' rooms. Certainly she had managed complex households, and her insecurities--demonstrated, for example, by her heavy reading of books on child care when her daughters were young--helped her identify with more typical homemakers. But she was hardly in a position to realistically assess domestic women's roles, and this no doubt helps account for the publication's overall message of acceptance and good humor. One of her daughters characterized the book as suffused with a "rosy glow."[116]

It seems to this reader that Fleischman chose to deal in her major published writing effort with one of the subjects with which she had the least relevant experience. At the same time, she wrote little about topics on which she had real and valuable expertise--such as the lives of professional women during the previous three decades or her own very high-level public relations consulting. She also neglected to offer more than very scattered fragments of information about her life, so the book lacks the value of an autobiography. Characteristically, she admitted that she had never intended to tell her life story: "I could never write a strict biography. I could never write so much about myself."[117]

Why, then, did she write the book she did? No doubt it reflects her many years of struggling with the jobs she "was expected to do as a woman"--and about which she did not feel she could complain. But a still more straightforward explanation was offered by her husband: "I told her to write it."[118] He explained that he thought hers was an interesting "record that was well worth preserving" and that she would feel better about herself if she "put herself into a book."[119] He was very happy with the resulting work and invested much thought and effort into promoting it.[120] An important goal for Fleischman in writing the book, then, seems to have been to please her husband.[121]

BECOMING "MRS. BERNAYS"

One additional aspect of the book is revealing: Its title page identified the author as "Doris Fleischman Bernays." In February 1949, she had published a light-hearted article in American Mercury titled "Notes of a Retiring Feminist" that described the problems her maiden name had caused her for 26 years. Writing under the byline "Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays)," she explained, "I have forgotten the

mystic satisfaction of maintaining the maiden name in spite of countless discomforts,"[122] and announced that she would from then on use her husband's last name.

Yet beginning with the first draft submitted in March 1949, all of her correspondence with publishers regarding A Wife Is Many Women was addressed to and signed "Doris E. Fleischman."[123] And in 1950 she began working with Jane Grant to help revive the Lucy Stone League, serving as its vice president until late 1952. In several interviews related to league activities--which at that time focused on expanding women's job opportunities and raising their pay--she used her maiden name.[124] Indeed, she was to remain "Miss Doris E. Fleischman" to many of her friends and associates until her death some three decades later.[125]

But given the conservative contents of A Wife Is Many Women, it is hardly surprising that she authored it under her married name, especially in light of the article published six years earlier declaring that she was a "retiring feminist." During the remainder of the 1950s and into the 60s she became increasingly--if inconsistently--identified by her husband's last name. Thus in 1955, for example, as "Doris E. Fleischman" she co-authored with the firm's office manager a chapter on "Themes and Symbols" in The Engineering of Consent, a book on public relations edited by Bernays.[126] Yet four years later when she and her husband bought a 16-page advertising supplement in the New York Times aimed at improving U.S.-British relations, the couple was identified as "Doris F. and Edward L. Bernays."[127] In contrast, a 1960 article in the same newspaper called them "Edward Bernays and Doris Fleischman."[128] By late 1965 and early 1966, though, she was either "Mrs. Edward L. Bernays" or "Mrs. Doris Fleischman Bernays" in most newspaper articles.[129]

During the same time Fleischman was progressing toward the consistent use of her husband's last name, the couple was considering moving away from New York so that Bernays could concentrate on writing his memoirs. He had begun this work in the late 1950s, but the demands of public relations consulting and social interruptions slowed his progress. Finally in 1961 the Bernayses moved to Cambridge, MA., where he quickly finished his book--published in 1965--but he and his wife never gave up public relations consulting. Operating out of offices in their home, they employed one or two secretaries (vs. the staff of 30 they had had in Manhattan) and held on to some New York clients while picking up

many others from the Boston area. At times they sold their services by the hour rather than by the year, as they previously had done.[130] They also changed the emphasis of their work so that, in Bernays' words, "Instead of executing advice, we only gave advice . . . [while] a good firm up here carried it out."[131]

In this work, though, a familiar pattern prevailed for, once again, Fleischman had no client contact.[132] Similarly, Bernays admits that the decision to move to Cambridge was made in response to his need for a suitable environment for book-writing, while little thought given to his wife's particular needs.[133] With the move she was able to see her daughters and grandchildren (who lived in Cambridge) much more frequently, but she left behind a circle of friends that had been important to her, and found in Cambridge fewer professional women with whom to associate closely. As a result of this--and perhaps because of her lack of client contacts--she may have felt more uprooted by the move than did her husband.[134]

Yet as a rule the almost 20 years during which the Bernayses lived together in Cambridge seem to have been productive and enjoyable. In addition to her public relations work, Fleischman wrote poetry and fiction, continued to speak out against such problems as poorly designed homes that added to women's domestic duties, and remained an advocate of husbands and wives working together. Through their Edward L. Bernays Foundation, she and her husband also sponsored two contests that were particularly important to her, one for the best essay describing "a practical program to achieve equitable treatment for homemakers" and one for the most useful plan for advancing women working in the media. And in 1972 she received important national recognition for her public relations work when she was one of five winners of Theta Sigma Phi's highest honor, the Headliner Award, for outstanding work in communications.[135]

She died following a stroke on July 11, 1980.[136] One of the last interviews she gave was to a Christian Science Monitor reporter writing a series of "Valentine's Day Love Stories" published on February 14, 1980. After she and her husband spoke about their public relations work and their long marriage, she commented: "Love has been the big thing in my life. . . . It actually interferes with what I want to do." Then she said of her husband: "I think it's the same for him. . . . But he doesn't let love interfere with his life. He is all business."[137]

CONCLUSIONS

The 1925 photograph described at the beginning of this paper can also serve as a quick snapshot of the more than six-decade-long personal and work relationship between Doris Fleischman and Edward Bernays. It was a national news story when she received a passport in "her own name"--but she stood next to her husband in the photo, and he held the passport. Certainly, too, he was much more comfortable than she was with the resulting publicity.

Still, the important fact remains that Fleischman was the first married woman to be issued a U.S. passport in her maiden name, and that she held onto that name for more than 30 years despite considerable societal disapproval and other problems resulting from her decision. Yet she could not have done so--and, more significantly, would not have done so--without her husband's strong support for, not to mention his pleasure in, this effort to maintain "separate identities."

In a 1972 interview she was quoted as saying, "My husband is a feminist and I am a feminist and we get along beautifully because I obey him all of the time."[138] It seems to have been a truthful remark, although it neglects to include the reasons she found it relatively easy to obey him. That she spent the first 30 years of her life under the control of an authoritarian father no doubt was an influential factor, but probably far more important were the many ways Bernays was unlike her father. Liberal and forward thinking, gregarious and interesting, highly intelligent, Bernays must have seemed the ideal "24-hour-a-day partner."

Fleischman called her husband "perfect"[139] and also wrote, "If you work with your husband you can admire him as much as you like."[140] No doubt the fact that she was able to spend a great deal of time in the office and at home with a man she thought was very special provided an extra incentive to accommodate him. And she seems to have decided on this accommodation very early in their relationship, for she once declared, "The only intelligent point of view I brought to my marriage was that it would be very stupid of me to try to change Eddie in anything. I liked him as he was."[141] She further explained, "Working with a genius is exciting. His triple attention, his surgical logic, his great moral courage, his enthusiasm made it very simple for me to just go along with him."[142]

This last comment raises another point necessary for understanding this relationship: Bernays was an extremely energetic, forceful person with an almost overwhelming presence. Fleischman had a mind of her own and was not a docile woman, but her intelligence and ability to understand other people must have quickly helped her realize that it would be difficult to oppose him with any consistency. Instead, she tried to recognize and meet his needs, which she did very well.[143]

In return, many of her own needs also were met. She lived and worked with someone she thought was wonderful--and who thought she was brilliant and charming, as well as admirable in countless other ways. He encouraged her efforts, praised her accomplishments as a public relations counsultant, wife and mother, and wanted to be with her as much as he could. He was as proud of her as she was of him.
He also made it possible for her to have an extraordinary (if little recognized) career in the new field of public relations consulting.

And because of their business success the couple was able to live very well. They had interesting friends, powerful and well-known clients, influence and status. Working for causes they believed in, feeing challenged and well rewarded by their work, spending time with stimulating people, all gave them satisfaction. It was a life Fleischman could not have anticipated as a young woman and must have much enjoyed. At the same time, she was able to have a family life that apparently did not adversely affect her public relations work and was made easier by the goods and services the couple could easily purchase.

It is little wonder, then, that she was grateful for her life with Bernays. Although she was well educated, she was not trained or psychologically prepared for a particular career; she knew she would "do something," but she did not know what that would be.[144] Similarly, it is unlikely that she realistically expected to marry a man who would fully support her career, let alone one who considered himself a strong feminist. Indeed, that she married so late indicates that she may not have believed she would find a compatible husband at all. With Bernays, though, she had both a career and a marriage that must have exceeded her expectations. Naturally she worked hard to make the partnership succeed.

She gave up certain things in return, the most notable being recognition of work done in "her own name." Despite her unusual and quick understanding of people, her early experience doing many in-depth interviews while at the Tribune, and her effective work with newspaper editors during her early days as a

"placer," she had no formal contact with clients. Instead, it was her husband who clients got to know and who was credited with the firm's successes. Her role in the business was played down in numerous other ways as well, although she seems to have accepted this uncomplainingly.

Still, her accomplishment is undeniable, and it deserves mention that the person who is most emphatic about that accomplishment is her husband, who has been remarkably generous in sharing his recollections and memorabilia with this researcher. Perhaps, unlike his wife, he did not "let love interfere with his life," but he certainly has demonstrated his appreciation of his good fortune in finding a work and marriage partner who would profoundly enrich that life.

NOTES

[1]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea: Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays (New York: Simon and Schuster), photograph between pp. 82 and 83.

[2]Ibid., p. 218.

[3]Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," American Mercury, February 1949, p. 161.

[4]A scrapbook kept by Edward Bernays during the early 1920s contains over two dozen clippings from East Coast newspapers describing Fleischman's first attempt to get the passport in 1923. A scrapbook covering 1925 contains a similar number of clippings recording the passport finally being granted. These scrapbooks are in the personal collection of Edward Bernays, Cambridge, MA.

[5]The event is described in a separate scrapbook of clippings in the collection of Edward Bernays. The most frequently run story, from the Associated Press, was headlined "Independent" and carried a head shot of Fleischman. Under the photo was this brief story: "Although she's married to Edward L. Bernays, New York lawyer [sic], Doris E. Fleischman, public relations counsel, refuses to be the second part of a Mr. and Mrs. partnership. She retained her maiden name and signs the hotel register accordingly."

[6]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 24, 1986, Cambridge, MA.

[7]Keith A. Larson, comp., Public Relations, the Edward L. Bernayses and the American Scene: A Bibliography (Westwood, MA: F.W. Faxon Company, 1978).

[8]Clippings on this subject can be traced throughout the dozens of scrapbooks in the collection of Edward Bernays.

[9]Doris E. Fleischman, comp. and ed., An Outline of Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Achievement (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928); Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955).

[10]See, for example, "Ten-Point Plan Developed to Advance Women in Media, Editor & Publisher, September 27, 1975, p. 11; Michael Sneed, "'Priceless' Wife? Not Any More," Chicago Tribune, June 4, 1978.

[11]Joan Cook, "Doris Fleischman Bernays Dead; Pioneer Public Relations Counsel," New York Times, July 12, 1980.

[12]"Heart Failure Kills Lawyer in Park," New York Journal, May 27, 1924; "New York Lawyer Dies Suddenly," New York World, May 27, 1924.

[13]Edward L. Bernays, Autobiography of an Idea, p. 219.

[14]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986, Cambridge, MA.

[15]Ibid; interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986, Cambridge, MA; Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 61.

[16]Unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 33, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College (hereafter Schlesinger Library).

[17]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, pp.167-69; unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 27, Schlesinger Library; Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Plus Ca Change, Plus C'Est La Meme Chose," Phantasm, September-October 1977, pp. 1-4.

[18]Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Plus Ca Change, Plus C'Est La Meme Chose," p. 3.

[19]Doris E. Fleischman, "Woman at the Lightweight Championship," New York Tribune, March 14, 1915.

[20]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988, Cambridge, MA; Edward L. Bernays, An Outline of Careers: A Practical Guide to Achievement by Thirty-Eight Eminent Americans (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), opposite page 423.

Unfortunately, the precise details of Fleischman's early career are difficult to unravel. Most sources on her--including many interviews with her and with her husband, and her obituaries--describe her as working at the Tribune (sometimes beginning in 1913) until joining Edward Bernays in 1919. In my own interviews with Bernays, he remembers this as the case, although he also is able to supply some information on her likely work at the Baron de Hirsch fund and New York Dispensary. Apparently, this neat chronology increasingly was put forth over the years, and came to be believed. However, Bernays' own brief biography of his wife accompanying the chapter she wrote in his 1927 book, An Outline of Careers, has her leaving the Tribune in 1916, and I have found no articles with her byline in the paper before 1914 or after March 1916. Other scattered sources refer to her philanthropy study and fundraising work before joining Bernays.

[21]Connie Lunnen, "Crusader Says Feminists Today Are Sour On Men," Houston Chronicle, October 6, 1972.

[22]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 62-194.

[23]Edward L. Bernays, "The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel," Business History Review 43 (Autumn 1971): 301.

[24]Doris Fleischman Bernays, transcript of a speech to the Radcliffe Club, [1962], p. 11, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 39, Schlesinger Library.

[25]Interviews with Edward Bernays, May 29, 1986, March 29, 1988, Cambridge, MA; interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.

[26]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986; interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.

[27]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[28]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 26, 1988, Cambridge, MA.

[29]Ibid; interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[30]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 219.

[31]Ibid., pp. 187-99; interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[32]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[33]Doris Fleischman Bernays, transcript of speech to the Radcliffe Club, p. 12.

[34]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 209-11.

[35]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[36]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea., p. 211; Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, pp. 170-71.

[37]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 290.

[38]Ibid., p. 289; interviews with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986, March 27, 1988, Cambridge, MA. The starting and ending dates are approximate, since each issue was numbered but undated, and the publication was issued irregularly. Although no publicly available collection of Contact exists, on my visit with Edward Bernays in March 1988, he unearthed a complete run of the publication in his basement, and individual issues provide some clues as to publication dates. Issue no. 3, for example, contains a reference to an article appearing in December 1922 issue of a trade journal. What seems to be the final issue is numbered 45.

[39]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 289.

[40]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986.

[41]Lois W. Banner, Women in Modern America: A Brief History (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), p. 140; Dale Kramer, Heywood Broun: A Biographical Portrait (New York: A. A. Wyn, 1949), pp. 105-07.

[42]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 217.

[43]Henry Raymond, "Miss Versatility: A Rather Unusual Sketch of the Rather Unusual Career of Doris E. Fleischman," American Hebrew, February 1927, p. 438. Bernays states that he is the real author of this piece.

[44]Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 162.

[45]Newspaper coverage of the league's activities notes Bernays' presence on committees but not Fleischman's. See, for example, "Lucy Stone League Will Hear Champion," New York Times, January 20, 1924; "Annual Dinner of Lucy Stone League," New York Times, February 12, 1924.

[46]Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 162.

[47]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 217.

[48]Doris Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 163.

[49]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 24, 1986, Cambridge, MA.

[50]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 217.

[51]Interviews with Edward Bernays, May 29, 1986, March 29, 1988.

[52]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 24, 1986.

[53]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1998.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Quoted in Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 267.

[56]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 26, 1988.

[57]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 206.

[58]Unused notes for A Wife is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 33, Schlesinger Library.

[59]Interviews with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986, March 29, 1988; Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife is Many Women, p. 38.

[60]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 288-92; interviews with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986, March 29, 1988.

[61]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[62]See Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 817-20, for a list of many of the firm's major clients.

[63]Interviews with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986, May 28, 1986, March 29, 1988.

[64]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 26, 1986.

[65]In his interviews with me, Bernays has repeatedly stated that Fleischman never had client contacts, but in unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women (Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 19, Schlesinger Library), Fleischman outlines some of the disadvantage of working for her husband, among them, "I made contacts before marriage, but not after."

[66]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 221.

[67]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 28, 1988.

[68]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 171.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Victoria Irwin, "Valentine's Day Love Stories," Christian Science Monitor," February 14, 1980.

[71]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986.

[72]The scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and client letters in the possession of Edward Bernays kept from the time Fleischman joined the firm until her death are dramatic testimony to her own lack of visibility and the tremendous attention he has been paid. Bernays also explains that she seldom gave speeches, but that this was because few women of the day were asked to deliver speeches. (Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.)

[73]See, for example, Universities--Pathfinders in Public Opinion (n.p.: 1937), which is identified as "a survey by Edward L. Bernays in collaboration with Doris E. Fleischman."

[74]See, for example, a series of 11 ads titled "Speak Out for Democracy" run from February through December 1944 in the Nation and the New Republic. According to the couple's daughter, Anne Bernays, when Fleischman was identified on their stationery, business cards and similar materials, it was in this form. (Interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.)

[75]Interviews with Edward Bernays, March 26, 1988, March 29, 1988.

[76]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986.

[77]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[78]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986; Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 218.

[79]Quoted in Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 161.

[80]See footnote 4 above.

[81]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 233; Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 163.

[82]The latter story in particular received extensive coverage; notebooks in the possession of Edward Bernays contain more than 70 clippings on Anne's birth.

[83]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 233, 810; interviews with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986, March 26, 1988; interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.

[84]Judy Voelker, "Doris Bernays '13: She Wanted to Major in Penology," Barnard Bulletin, April 18, 1974, p. 4; Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 180, 233; interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986; interview with Doris Bernays Held, May 27, 1986, Cambridge, MA.

[85]Unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 25, Schlesinger Library.

[86]Interviews with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986, March 26, 1988. Some of the couple's parties--and the many well-known people who attended them--are described in Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 223-30, 804-08, and in Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, pp. 146, 157-59.

[87]Unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 19, Schlesinger Library.

[88]Deleted portion of manuscript draft of A Wife Is Many Women, p. 61, personal collection of Edward L. Bernays.

[89]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[90]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p.233.

[91]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 167.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[94]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 177.

[95]Ibid., p. 43.

[96]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988. Bernays explains that, although they commented on drafts of each other's writings, each speech and published work appearing solely under either his or Fleischman's name was their own work, rather than a joint production.

[97]Doris E. Fleischman, "Concerning Women," in Edward L. Bernays, ed., An Outline of Careers, pp. 423-31.

[98]Ibid., p. 428.

[99]Ibid., p. 427.

[100]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, p. 295.

[101]Doris E. Fleischman, ed., An Outline of Careers for Women, p. xi.

[102]Ibid., p. 385.

[103]Ibid., p. 392.

[104]Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations--A New Field for Women," Independent Woman, February 1931, p. 58.

[105]Doris E. Fleischman, "Keys to a Public Relations Career," Independent Woman, November 1941, p. 340.

[106]Doris E. Fleischman, "Women in Business," Ladies' Home Journal, January 1930, p. 16.

[107]Ibid., p. 59.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Doris E. Fleischman, "Women in Business," Ladies' Home Journal, March 1930, p. 229.

[110]Doris E. Fleischman, "Women: Types and Movements," in Fred. J. Ringel, ed., America as Americans See It (New York: The Literary Guild, 1932), pp. 105-17.

[111]Ibid., p. 112.

[112]Ibid., p. 108.

[113]Doris E. Fleischman, "You Can't Get Help . . . ," McCall's, September 1946, p. 2.

[114]Ibid., p. 68.

[115]Review of A Wife Is Many Women, Journal of Social Therapy 2 (first quarter, 1956): 57.

[116]Interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.

[117]Rachel Meyer, "Alumna Pens 'Life of a Wife'," Barnard Bulletin, October 5, 1955.

[118]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 29, 1986.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid.; press releases, descriptions of advertising ideas and correspondence on review copies of A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, folders 14, 15, 16 and 17, Schlesinger Library.

[121]Anne Bernays shares this view. (Interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986.)

[122]Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays), "Notes of a Retiring Feminist," p. 168.

[123]See correspondence in Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 12, Schlesinger Library.

[124]See correspondence and clippings in Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, files 39 and 40, Schlesinger Library.

[125]See scrapbooks of condolence letters on his wife's death in the possession of Edward Bernays.

[126]Doris E. Fleischman and Howard Walden Cutler, "Themes and Symbols" in Edward L. Bernays, ed., The Engineering of Consent (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), pp. 138-55.

[127]"British-American Trade--Basis for Mutual Understanding," New York Times, April 19, 1959, section 10.

[128]"Topics," New York Times, April 16, 1960.

[129]See, for example, Carol Liston, "Editor-Crusader-Housewife Now a Novelist at 74," Boston Globe, December 15, 1965; Gloria Ohliger, "Papers for the Library, Help for the Housewife," Washington Daily News, February 23, 1966; Ann Bradley, "A Truly Feminine Feminist," Washington Evening Star, February 25, 1966.

[130]Edward L. Bernays, Biography of an Idea, pp. 815-65; interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986.

[131]Interview with Edward Bernays, May 28, 1986.

[132]Ibid.

[133]Interview with Edward Bernays, March 29, 1988.

[134]Interview with Doris Bernays Held, May 27, 1986; see also udated letter from Fleischman addressed "Deal Adele" and describing her need to see New York friends, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 2, file 44, Schlesinger Library.

[135]Gloria Ohliger, "Papers for the Library, Help for the Housewife"; Michael Sneed, "'Priceless' Wife? Not Any More"; "Ten-Point Plan Developed to Advance Women In Media"; Carol Liston, "Editor-Crusader-Housewife Now a Novelist at 74";Connie Lunnen, "Crusader Says Feminists Today Are Sour On Men"; David R. Francis, "For Marriage: 'Faith, Hope, Parity'?" Christian Science Monitor, December 8, 1977.

[136]"Doris Fleischman Bernays, Public Relations Pioneer, 88," Boston Globe, July 12, 1980.

[137]Victoria Irwin, "Valentine's Day Love Stories."

[138]Connie Lunnen, "Crusader Says Feminists Today Are Sour On Men."

[139]Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, p. 175.

[140]Ibid.

[141]Unused notes for A Wife Is Many Women, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 32, Schlesinger Library.

[142]Ibid.

[143]Interview with Doris Bernays Held, May 27, 1986.

[144]Interview with Anne Bernays, May 27, 1986; Doris Fleischman Bernays, A Wife Is Many Women, 167-69.